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# **SOCIALIST**

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# **PLATFORM**

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# **1960**

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The Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation is the organized expression of democratic socialism in the United States. It was founded in 1901 and was known simply as the Socialist Party until January, 1957, when the change of the name resulted from a merger with the Social Democratic Federation. In 1958 still another group of democratic socialists, the members of the Independent Socialist League, joined the party. The SP-SDF is the sole U.S. affiliate of the Socialist International, the body to which most of the major socialist and labor parties of the world belong. Under the leadership of two great Americans, Eugene V. Debs and Norman Thomas, the Socialist Party has made many signal contributions to American life. With the onset of a new period of political soulsearching, many Americans are turning again toward democratic socialism as a source of new ideas, inspiration, guidance; and it is to them that we commend this platform. It is our hope that all who share our vision will join with us in building our Party into an ever more effective instrument for translating our ideals into living reality.

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## INTRODUCTION

### *W. M. McDonald* The Dilemma of Modern Man

Never have Americans talked more about the importance of the private citizen; never has he felt more powerless in the face of events.

We possess the tools to build a world of peace and prosperity, and use them instead to engage in a deadly arms race. We possess the power to abolish poverty, yet unemployment continues. We possess the time to devote ourselves to great causes, but can find nothing to believe in.

From earliest schooldays to the age of retirement, on the job and at home and in our use of leisure time, when we buy and when we vote, we are subjected to a barrage of commercial, political, and social hucksterism. Our lives are shaped by public and private bureaucracies, self-perpetuating and outside our immediate control. Leaders in every field, who should be our servants, see us not as people but as *things* to be lied to, prodded, and manipulated into acquiescence. We live in a rigged society, in that the whole economy depends upon the manufacture of consent, *our* consent—to planned obsolescence, to tailfins instead of schools, to cold war and the armaments race. We live frustrated lives, because we are allowed to express our yearnings only through commercially-successful channels. We live trammelled lives, because dissent is stifled. We live cheap lives, because we are taught to value ourselves cheaply.

If we are to be free, we must discover new patterns for our lives. And then we must live according to those

patterns, in the midst of a hostile society, until we have created nothing less than a new social order, a society in which the commanding value is the infinite preciousness of the human spirit and of every single man, woman, and child.

For man must master society instead of being mastered by it. This is the most fundamental statement of the socialist goal.

### *W. M. McDonald* The Role of the Socialist Party

There are many ways in which free men can live free lives within a rigged society; but if their lives are to have social meaning beyond an immediate circle of friends, they need to join together and work for change in a way that is politically meaningful. It is this need which the Socialist Party is designed to meet. For the SP-SDF seeks to bring together, and give political expression to, the entire spectrum of democratic dissent in America. It gives unity, coherence, and practical purpose to what would otherwise be inchoate strivings.

Since the 1930's the two old parties have produced virtually no progressive social legislation. As productivity has grown, so have slums; as medical research has advanced, the ability of ordinary people to pay for medical care has regressed; as our standard of living has risen, fifty million Americans have continued to dwell in poverty. The weapons of a new warfare threaten our very lives, and we are offered only the insane satisfaction of knowing that two minutes after we

die, so will our enemies. We stand condemned before the world and in our own hearts for our inability to achieve the racial justice that most of us so much desire. Our society is deadlocked and frustration is our predominant feeling in every area of life; and the primary source of our political frustration is a party alignment that cannot reflect the will of the people. A coalition of Northern Republicans and Southern Democrats thwarts the wishes of the majority, and will continue to do so until there is a political realignment in this country.

The potential for political change exists. It is found in the millions of trade unionists, farmers, Negroes, liberals, lovers of peace, who together form the bulk of the populace. And the prospect for change moves closer, for there are stirrings in the land: the reunited labor movement, the civil rights movement, the growing protest against nuclear weapons. It is to our fellow-citizens engaged with us in these activities that we especially direct this platform, for we share their aspirations and believe that they share ours. We offer them a vision of a new society, a vision that gives depth and meaning to the things that we and they are doing now.

#### *The Socialist Vision*

Our goal is a new and truly democratic society in the United States, a society in which human rights come before property rights. We are pledged to building and maintaining this new society by democratic means: For just as there can be no meaningful and enduring freedom without socialism, so there can be no true socialism without freedom.

Socialists call for social ownership and democratic control of the commanding heights of industry, not as an end in itself, but as a step in the creation of a truly human society in which all economic and class barriers

to individual freedom have been removed. For the enduring ethical values which now are falteringly applied to our political institutions are absent most conspicuously in our economic institutions, and this absence affects the whole quality of our lives. If we are to lead full lives a prerequisite is that production be democratically planned for the benefit of all.

We do not propose totalitarian nationalization as under Communism. We oppose it because in theory it is oriented toward the welfare of posterity, at the expense of the welfare and even the human dignity of the present generation; and because in practice it means that the economy is run for the benefit of the bureaucratic class that controls the state. Neither do we propose simply nationalization with political democracy; for under such a system the people participate only at election time in the decisions that control their lives. We propose rather a society of free, continuing, and democratic *participation*—through political parties in the determination of basic economic and social and political policy for the nation; through shop councils, consumer co-operatives, neighborhood associations, and all the other organs of community in the decisions of daily life; through decentralized agencies for the management of each industry by those most affected by it; through encouragement of the maximum expression of individual creativity.

We propose a society in which democratic participation in economic and political life will set us free to attack and conquer war, racial antagonism, hunger, disease, poverty, and oppression. We propose a nation which can take its place in a World Federation of Cooperative Commonwealths, to the end that all men may lead lives that are rich and free. We propose a world in which man is the measure of all things.

## FOREIGN POLICY

The end of the old colonialisms, the rise of new nations, the explosion of populations without birth control, the drive of dictatorial Communism—these are taking place in our anarchic world of absolute national states grossly unequal in wealth and power. In this situation men by their own scientific and technological genius have made war, immemorially the grim arbiter of their disputes, unusable for any purpose but annihilation of their civilization if not of their race. If there are to be survivors of a war inevitably to be fought with chemical, bacteriological, and nuclear weapons, liberty will not be among them. The supreme task of our time is the avoidance of war in the settlement of national conflict.

This would be our supreme task even if there had not been a Communist imperialist drive for power. All the more so, then, when this drive against the politically democratic but capitalist nations of the West has resulted in the Cold War and the arms race—clearly the outstanding fact affecting American foreign policy.

The present conflict has often been presented as ideological. To the Western nations, it is the struggle of democracy against totalitarianism; to the Communists, it is a contest between "socialism" and "capitalism." Yet beneath these descriptions exists a more sordid reality of two rival alliances each seeking economic, social, and political power. In the Soviet Union, the military bureaucracy and, doubtless, other elements, have acquired a stake in the continuation of a cold war which brings them prestige and power. Likewise in the United States the mil-

itary, the great corporations, and many scientists have acquired a vital material interest in the arms race. For this reason the economics of disarmament must be a major concern of socialist planning.

No political solution can be achieved by opposing Communist imperialism with free-enterprise capitalism. Democracy is debased when Soviet satellites are called "People's Democracies"; freedom is debased when the word "free" is applied to any despot allied to the West, when it is used to cover up the search for areas of exploitation. Saudi Arabia and Spain are cases in point. As this platform is written, Cuba is going through a social revolution which the Communists are trying to exploit, though they were not part of the revolutionary movement itself; South Korea and Turkey have overthrown native dictators, only yesterday supported by the United States, and the movements which accomplished this were hardly Communist.

The situation cries out for political, economic, and moral support by the United States of all struggles for self-determination, of all efforts of people everywhere to free themselves from exploitation. If we wish the friendship of those who seek freedom, we must cease making alliances of expediency with tyrannous regimes; we must cease our dogmatic espousal of a "capitalism" which other nations cannot understand, could not use, and do not want. We must learn to support the demand of underdeveloped countries for independence, and we must support them *on their terms*. We must make their new independence meaningful by underwriting democratic

paths to industrialization. Our answer to Mao's dictatorship cannot be Chiang's dictatorship; rather, it must be a commitment to aid in the creation of democratic, modern societies throughout the ex-colonial world.

A socialist foreign policy is wholly inconsistent with indefinite continuation of the Cold War and the arms race. In that race neither national security nor human freedom can be achieved. At most balance of terror can give only a little time for precarious peace behind the so-called shield of deterrence. Sooner or later this poor protection will be shattered by accident, by the mistakes of fallible men, or by the passions of men and nations mad for power. And while the arms race goes on the nations waging it will inevitably be caught in the toils of a garrison state, whose assumed needs will increasingly dictate their economy and override their supposedly inalienable rights as private citizens.

Prevention of war obviously requires the nations to dispossess themselves of the terrible weapons which they now frantically seek to make more terrible. We can no more trust ourselves with H-bombs, missiles, chemical and bacteriological weapons, than we can trust kindergarten children with rifles and bayonets. Disarmament is a necessity. But not mere disarmament without a conscious provision of law as an alternative to war and conscious dedication to the universal conquest of bitter poverty, a dedication which in our generation must be the moral equivalent of war. Recognition of these facts not only in words but in action must lie—as it does not today—at the basis of our foreign policy.

The life-line to peace must then be braided of four strands—

#### **Disarmament**

Universal disarmament down to a police level for maintaining order

within nations and between nations. Such disarmament may be achieved by stages; but to be genuine and enduring, it must rapidly become universal and total. It must be begun by a treaty for ending tests of atomic weapons above or below ground. The fact that as yet all conceivable underground tests cannot be detected does not justify failure to reach an agreement now nearly arrived at. No risk is as great as a continuance of tests adding inevitably to the hazards of atomic fallout and inviting nation after nation to join the nuclear club, thereby tremendously increasing the danger of war by accident or design.

If no agreement should be reached at Geneva, the Socialist Party will call for the immediate unilateral cessation of nuclear weapons production and testing by this government. We will propose that U.N. teams be invited to establish monitoring stations on our territory for the purpose of proving to the world the reality of our action. We would then be in a sound position to call upon the Soviet Union to take similar action. Present U.S. nuclear power is such that the unilateral action we outline would not impair our security but would, on the contrary, break the present stalemate and create a new possibility—of turning the arms race into a disarmament race.

Successful progress in disarmament requires supranational authority not only for verification and inspection but for progressively assuring peace by substituting law for war. Hence our second essential:

#### **Strengthening the United Nations**

The strengthening of the United Nations and the creation or strengthening of regional federations. Such regional federations are peculiarly necessary to the healthy economy of the emerging nations of Africa. Our present imperfect U.N. has proved its val-

ue, but cannot adequately serve the great cause of peace without some revision of its charter and some provision for an international police force subject only to it, adequate to deal with brushfire wars before they kindle the great conflagration. The appeal to law instead of war must be strengthened by repeal of the Connally reservations under which the United States is the judge of the cases involving it that it will allow to go to the World Court.

#### **Disengagement**

Progressive disengagement from imperfectly understood but probably binding commitments which cannot be fulfilled without war. But with this must go friendly cooperation for peace. This means, among other things, the progressive but rapid termination of agreements providing for American military bases on foreign soil; a principle which should be urged on every nation.

Progress toward either disarmament or disengagement requires them to go hand in hand. Disarmament is not possible without disengagement, nor disengagement without disarmament. This principle requires special and immediate application—

● In pressing our ally, France, for negotiated peace fully recognizing the principle of self-determination in Algeria.

● In giving moral and economic support to peoples emerging from colonialism or domestic tyranny and in giving moral and political support to struggles of still-subject peoples for liberty and self-determination in the "free world" as well as in the Communist world. This means an end of all aid to Franco, Trujillo, or any other despot. It means opposing racism and apartheid in South Africa, in particular by ending any possible subsidy to that government through unrestricted purchase of its gold. It means

that our proposals for European disengagement must have as one of their objectives the self-determination of the Russian-dominated countries in Eastern Europe.

● In beginning at once negotiation looking to recognition of the effective government of China, the most populous nation on earth. It is admitted by our nation's leaders that the absolutely essential ending of tests of nuclear weapons must require Communist China's adherence to any agreement. Yet we contemplate a situation in which we will say, "We don't recognize you, but sign on the dotted line." Sooner or later, we shall either get the real China into the U.N. or fight her. We Americans, under both Democratic and Republican governments, compounded our folly in dealing with China by insisting that Chiang, ingloriously driven out of China to an island in which he has not dared commit his rule to popular election, represents the whole nation. He represents only the American Seventh Fleet. We are obligated not to throw Chiang and the people of Taiwan into the arms of the vengeful Communist government. But they must be protected under an agreement which provides self-determination for the people of Taiwan.

● In extending the Austrian principle of demilitarization into Central Europe by phased withdrawal of military forces on both sides. In a disarmed Central Europe, West Berlin can be guaranteed against imposed Communist rule and the Germans left to work out their own reunification. The SP-SDF is unalterably opposed to the rearmament of a united or divided Germany.

● In seeking to get Soviet agreement to support U.N. action looking toward disarmament in the Middle East and a guarantee of any and all nations in it against military aggression or any attempt to change boundaries by force. The U.S. should be a party to a so-

lution of the Arab refugee problem with the cooperation of the U.N., Israel, and the Arab nations.

#### War Against Poverty

Cooperative struggle against the bitter poverty in which 70 per cent of the world's people live—this at a time when all the nations, poor and rich, spend together \$100 billion annually on the arms race. Less than one-third that amount, properly spent, might conquer world poverty in one or two generations.

Loans and grants to industrial and agricultural projects should be administered by the U.N. or its agencies. The SP-SDF heartily support the suggestion of the Socialist International,

to which it belongs, that each nation pay at least 1 per cent of its national income into a general fund out of which grants be made according to need. So long as any such aid must be given on a bilateral basis the Socialist Party insists that it be genuinely economic, not military.

Implementation of the principles we have set forth, in a world where the United States has neither the power nor the wisdom to play Almighty God, will necessarily depend somewhat on the stream of events and the opinions and actions of other nations. But the purpose and the general direction outlined in this statement must be the fixed policy of the United States in its leadership for peace with freedom and justice.

### DOMESTIC AFFAIRS

#### THE ECONOMY

American capitalism today is far different from what it was even a generation ago. It has moved in the direction of a welfare state. It has acquired a subsidized sector, mainly devoted to war spending, which affects a major portion of the gross national product. It is characterized by a growing concentration of corporate wealth, by intervention of the state in many areas of economic life, by private, public, and military bureaucracies which are increasingly powerful and all-pervasive.

Some of these changes are the result of popular demands for reforms which Socialists pioneered: social security, minimum wage laws, unemployment insurance, child labor laws, and so on.

Some of these changes are part of the drift toward a bureaucratized, centralized capitalism, more impersonal and powerful than ever before.

Some of these changes have been brought about by the Cold War. They point toward a garrison state, in which personal liberties are increasingly stifled and the nation is increasingly mobilized around one overriding purpose, the need to be prepared at all times for total war.

Contrary to popular myth, Socialists do not favor "big government." However, where the Federal government is the only institution capable of fairly and efficiently administering a social program, we do not dogmatically shy away from using it. But we oppose all unnecessary government bureaucracy, and seek always to find alternative ways of doing things, ways based on direct participation by the citizenry. We believe bureaucracy is the result less of carefully-considered planning, than of hasty and improvised methods of meeting emergencies which arise precisely because of lack

of planning. Wherever possible we advocate a maximum of decentralized control under national standards.

It is undeniable that American capitalism has proved resourceful beyond the expectation of Socialists in the past. But the theory that this society has conquered all the fundamental problems of the old capitalism is patently false.

Thus, the enormous growth of American productivity has meant more money to go around and has concealed glaring inequality in the *division* of wealth. Yet it is a fact that the lower half of our population receives a smaller percentage of the total money income now than it did in 1910.

Thus, we are seriously told that America has banished economic want and insecurity—when one family in ten receives an annual income of less than \$1,000 a year, and more than two families in ten have less than \$2,000. According to the most recent statistics of the Joint Economic Committee of Congress, well over twenty million Americans live below the most minimal standard of life; if the definition of adequacy is the one proposed by the AFL-CIO, this figure rises to over fifty million, and includes semi-skilled workers, the aged, residents of economically-depressed areas, members of minority groups, poor farmers and farm workers.

The American economy in the post-war period has been periodically wracked by crises of "over-production"—that is, in a nation and a world that desperately needs goods, there is a glut of those items which are most profitable. In 1949, 1954, and 1958, millions of American workers were thrown out of work. Each "recovery" has seen the definition of "normal" unemployment increase, until now America accepts four million jobless as consonant with prosperity.

These glaring inequities can be corrected only by a society which allocates its resources on the basis of need rather

than of profit. That is basic to the socialist program.

In the absence of such a society, here and now socialists join with trade unionists and liberals in demanding immediate action—

- For a higher minimum wage, from which farm labor must not be excluded;
- For an integrated national campaign against poverty, with massive Federal aid to housing, community services, and education;
- For a program of public investment as an anti-recession measure;
- For an Area Redevelopment Bill to provide aid for distressed sections of the nation—a Point Four for our own underdeveloped regions;
- For a national resources policy which will extend the program which proved itself in the Tennessee Valley Authority to other areas of the country, such as the Columbia River Valley and the Missouri River Valley;
- For socialization of the oil industry on terms that give due regard to the needs and interests of a world peculiarly dependent upon oil. Today this industry is a power unto itself influencing domestic and foreign policy. Socialization of the oil industry must include social ownership of the oil fields.
- For socialization of basic means of transportation. We deplore and oppose the tendency to subsidize railroad passenger traffic while allowing private operators to reap the profits from freight traffic.
- For overhauling our confused system of taxation, imposing withholding taxes on dividends, ending favoritism to the oil industry, regulating exemptions on expense accounts, and imposing a tax for the recovery of socially-created rental values of land. We oppose general sales taxes, which hit low-income families the hardest.

In making these demands, we note that the one piece of important social legislation passed since World War II, the Employment Act of 1946, is hardly more than a general statement of good intentions. In the post-war recessions, that Act failed to commit the Executive to any specific action, and the battle for meaningful remedies had to be fought anew each time in Congress. Therefore, we stand for a new law which will automatically require Executive action whenever unemployment rises: Federal spending for worthwhile social purposes, pro-

gressive tax relief for the broad mass of consumers, a government banking and finance policy to stimulate maximum investment, and so on.

We note further that these are no more than the things which need to be done *first* and that their effect will be nullified unless they are followed by further legislation in the same direction, a direction which we believe must lead to a democratic socialist society. In the following sections, therefore, we spell out in detail some of the further changes we feel are most necessary in the immediate future.

## SOCIAL WELFARE

The ranks of the chronically poor are swelled constantly by those who are rendered penniless by sickness, sudden unemployment, and other forms of personal disaster. Whether poverty is individual or general, in a country as wealthy as ours it is unnecessary, and therefore a reproach to all of us. We propose Federal action to guarantee to every family (1) a decent minimum standard of living and (2) maximum protection against economic mischance. As immediate steps toward this goal, we offer the following proposals:

### Unemployment

Unemployment compensation must be made available to all citizens who cannot find work, for as long as they remain unemployed. It should amount to two-thirds of normal income. The Federal government must supplement compensation payments (1) by creating jobs, where unemployment is general; (2) by introducing new industry into depressed areas, or relocating the unemployed where this cannot be done; (3) by retraining those displaced by technological change.

### Disability

Disabled persons must be trained so far as possible to perform useful work, with benefits ranging up to two-thirds of normal income for the totally disabled. A special no-interest loan fund must be made available to disabled persons who wish to build new lives as small businessmen. Persons handicapped from childhood must be given scholarships or job training so far as it can benefit them, and should receive pensions on the basis of need to whatever degree is necessary for a decent standard of living. All payments must be pegged to the cost-of-living index.

### Social Security

Social Security should not be, as it is today, merely a palliative measure designed to supplement the savings of retired citizens. It must be extended to become a true national pension plan, designed to supply the full economic security necessary for a dignified and fruitful old age. Payments must be much higher than they are now, must be pegged to the cost-of-

living index, and must be available to all persons of appropriate age regardless of their prior contributions in taxes. Women should receive benefits at age 60; maternal and child services must be greatly expanded; family allowances must be made for children of low-income families. Orphan beneficiaries, for whom payments now lapse when they reach age 18, must have access to a special fund for college scholarships or for training for a trade.

### Medical Care

We support, as a step in the right direction, current efforts to give medical benefits to old people, although we deplore the inadequacy of this approach to a proper program of socialized medicine. At very least, the programs now being considered should provide coverage for medical, dental, psychiatric, and out-of-hospital care, as well as surgical fees and hospitalization; coverage should not be limited as to time.

We propose a National Health Service for the United States which will provide every man, woman, and child in this country with the best available medical care. We regard it as a scandal that health care in America is still run on the antiquated, nineteenth-century basis of cash and carry. Nations whose resources are much less than those of America have proved that socialized medicine is the way to safeguard national health while retaining a maximum of individual freedom in the doctor-patient relationship. The American people should not be denied the benefits which the citizens of Britain, Scandinavia, and other countries enjoy.

Under a program of socialized medicine, the individual is free to choose the doctor and the type of medical care he desires. Medical cooperatives

should be encouraged through tax incentives and other measures; these are the plans in which a group of consumers build a clinic and hire physicians on a salary basis to give them complete medical care. Fee-for-service medicine would continue so long as the people in a given community wanted it, with the health service paying the cost. Administration of the medical program would be local and democratically responsible to the public, with the Federal government's role limited to maintaining standards and underwriting costs.

We have socialized the protection of the citizenry from crime and fire. Now we must socialize the protection of life itself.

We favor drastic government action in support of the costs of medical education. It must be made possible for any qualified person to become a doctor so long as there is a shortage of doctors, and to live a decent life during the many years of medical and specialist training. We favor subsidy of the costs of training nurses and medical technologists. We favor a decent wage scale for lower-echelon hospital employees, and endorse their right to form unions. We support, and favor extension of, present government hospital-building programs; every community should possess a medical center with emergency-ward and nursing-home facilities.

Prescribed drugs should be available to all citizens without cost. Pharmaceutical companies should have their profits held down to a reasonable level, and an independent government corporation should enter and become a major competitive entity in the pharmaceutical industry. At the same time the drug companies should continue to receive financial incentives for genuine pharmaceutical research. The government itself should engage much more heavily in pharmaceutical and medical research.

## Other Reforms

- Our social services must be expanded and strengthened to provide for more adequate treatment and rehabilitation of the victims of alcoholism and narcotic addiction. They should be strengthened to deal more adequately with mental illness and the ravages of community and family deterioration.
- It cannot be expected that our competitive and segregated society will effectively prevent juvenile delinquency. However, we urge the immediate provision of ample Federal financial aid for carefully-prepared projects for preventing and treating juvenile delinquency.
- We urge the institution of a full-

scale program for rehabilitation of criminals as well as for eradication of the societal and environmental causes of criminal behavior. We are opposed to the punitive rather than the rehabilitative approach to criminal jurisprudence, and consequently we regard capital punishment as a grim and uncivilized vestige of the past. We pledge ourselves to work for its eradication.

### Administration of Social Services

Social services are not charity, but a right of all members of the human family. They must be administered with courtesy and dignity, and in a manner that permits recipients to retain their self-respect.

## LABOR

As Socialists, we support the labor movement and view it as the greatest single mass basis for democratic change in America. Its efforts to raise the living standards of working people, and enlarge their role in society, are a basic contribution to our freedom.

In recent years sectors of the American labor movement have become bureaucratic and have lost much of the social idealism that sparked labor's great advances in the past. We believe the solution to this problem must come from within the labor movement itself. Therefore we join with all those unionists who fight corruption and undemocratic bureaucracy within their unions. The fundamental solution to the problems of the labor movement will come only with a revival of social and political consciousness on all levels within the trade unions.

We opposed the Taft-Hartley law in the past; we oppose the Landrum-Griffin law today. The latter is a has-

tily-assembled jumble of reform measures and reactionary attacks upon America's organized workers. Both were aimed at weakening the power of organized labor; whereas Socialists seek to strengthen and extend unionism in America.

We believe that legislation has a positive role to play in helping the democratic forces within the American labor movement. The impact of the law should be in the direction of encouraging voluntary union creation of democratic structures, with government intervention confined to the minority of crooked and undemocratic unions. Therefore we propose a "reserved powers" approach. Where an international union is found to have voluntarily established adequate guarantees for rights designated in a national labor policy, it should be free of any legal obligations which might be applied to unions refusing to take such steps on their own. In the absence of

appropriate action by the union, the law should require disclosure of union funds (and of labor relations expenditures by management); it should set limits upon trusteeship; it should provide for the right of appeal to the courts where the union appeals process is inordinately prolonged; it should guarantee free elections within the unions.

We particularly hail the United Automobile Workers for its institution of a Public Review Board providing an impartial system of appeal for union members. We believe that the review-board principle, if adopted by the rest of the labor movement, can be a major aid in strengthening democratic unionism and an unanswerable argument to those reactionaries who use union abuses as a cover for labor-wrecking laws.

We advocate the repeal of "right-to-work" laws.

We uphold the right of government

employees to organize into unions and to strike.

Unionists have long opposed speed-up, stretch-out, and other inhuman techniques which management uses to increase its profits. Socialists support, of course, all union measures taken to defend the worker against the inhumanity of the machine and management. But we also propose that the labor movement consider a positive program on this issue. We suggest that unionists begin to raise questions of machine design in collective bargaining, and that the power of organized workers be turned toward fostering the human factor in industrial engineering. Other useful proposals include the rotation of work, the "self-pacing" of the work process in the shop, and so on; and we consider it vital that the union movement make the character of the work process an important factor in its thinking and actions.

## CIVIL RIGHTS AND CIVIL LIBERTIES

### Negro Struggle for Freedom

The most dynamic single social struggle in the United States today is the magnificent movement of America's Negroes and their white allies for civil rights. Socialists have always been wholeheartedly part of this struggle.

The Negro in America is doubly the victim of oppression. As a member of a racial minority, he suffers the special indignity of segregation. And as a worker, he is hired last and fired first, given the dirtiest and lowest-paid jobs, is herded into the most miserable of slums. Yet in this fact of double oppression lies a great hope: the natural alliance of the Negroes, in their struggle for civil rights, and the labor movement in its battle against exploitation.

In May 1954 the great legal struggle of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People brought about the historic decision on school desegregation. Since then the racists have responded with a variety of tactics: token integration, the threat of a "century of litigation," outright refusal to comply with the Court's decision, economic pressure, and direct violence.

The legal battle remains important, but now the civil rights movement has entered a new stage. The generalities of the May 1954 decision can only be made meaningful through a mobilization of millions of Negroes and whites for political and direct, nonviolent action.

The very necessities of this political struggle point toward political realignment. It was a coalition of Northern

Republicans and reactionary Southern Democrats who made the Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1960 into pitiful documents. This same coalition united to fight against medical care for the aged, against a program to relieve distressed areas, and for anti-labor legislation. Its power rests, to a considerable extent, upon the fact that the racist Democrats of the South gain important committee chairmanships in Congress because of their alliance with the Northern labor and liberal forces and through the workings of the seniority system. A vote for a Northern liberal Democrat is a vote to make Eastland chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee under our present party alignment. If there is to be civil rights—if there is to be any real social progress on any major issue—the power of this coalition must be shattered. In practical terms, this means that the progressive forces, the Negroes, the labor movement, the farmers, the liberals, must take the road of independent political action. To achieve civil rights, there must be a real second party in the United States.

The immediate political fight focuses upon the attainment of a meaningful Civil Rights Act. It must include—

- Adequate guarantees of the right of Negroes to vote, with the power of action, once a pattern of discrimination is found, vested in the Executive;
- Legislation requiring the Federal government to initiate legal action on behalf of school integration, voting rights, or any other civil right;
- Adoption of the principle that only integrated institutions shall qualify for Federal funds;
- Implementation of Section 2 of the Fourteenth Amendment, depriving states of representation in Congress in proportion to the number of citizens they deprive of the right to vote on account of race, color, or previous servitude.

Another vital aspect of the struggle

for civil rights is the fight against discrimination in housing, education, and employment, particularly in the North. Much attention, and rightfully so, has been given to the fight against separate public-school facilities for Negroes in the South. However, the *de facto* segregation that exists in Northern schools must be opposed also, for the damage it does is just as great in terms of inferior education resulting from overcrowding, inadequate facilities, and inequitable distribution of teaching personnel.

We support legislation and board-of-education policies designed to foster integration in school districting, in the building of schools, in the assignment of teachers.

Ghetto patterns buttress *de facto* segregation in Northern public schools. We oppose the use of government funds, whether Federal or local, in the financing of segregated housing. We support all efforts directed toward ending housing discrimination, public and private, such as open-occupancy legislation and the dispersal of public housing in such a manner as to foster integration.

Discrimination in employment has been and continues to be of major concern to Negroes and other minority groups. The average annual wage today for the white worker is almost twice as much as that of the Negro worker. Employment barriers, particularly in the white-collar and technical fields, still exist for Negroes. We urge the enactment of FEPC legislation with adequate enforcement provisions on a Federal level, and in cities and states where nonexistent.

Finally, there must be a gigantic, nonviolent mobilization of Negroes and whites for a direct challenge to Jim Crow wherever it exists. The Montgomery Bus Boycott and the Sit-In Campaign of the Negro students point the path of this development. We gladly pledge our energies and resources to the support of nonviolent

mass action for civil rights. We believe that this, along with legal action and the fight for political realignment, is the essence of the battle for civil rights today.

#### Other Minorities

Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans, and other minority groups are also the victims of discrimination. We support the democratic movement of all these minorities as part of the united struggle for the principle of equality for all.

We are opposed to the current effort to deprive American Indians of their remaining community lands and resources. Premature and enforced assimilation of Indians into the dominant culture is no answer to their special problems. No major programs affecting Indians should be launched without the free consent of the tribes or bands involved. As a first step to alleviate sufferings and amend ancient wrongs, we endorse the proposal of the National Congress of American Indians, for a "Point Four" program for Indians.

#### McCarthyism

We urge a campaign to root the institutions of McCarthyism out of our

life: repeal of the Smith Act and pardon for all its victims; abolition of the Attorney General's "subversive" list; repeal of the loyalty-oath provision of the National Defense Education Act; abolition of the House Un-American Activities Committee and the Senate Internal Security Committee.

#### Ballot Access

We advocate a Constitutional amendment guaranteeing the right of ready ballot access in all states to minority political parties.

#### Conscription

Hostility to peacetime conscription in the Old World was one of the great forces motivating immigration to this country, and Americans have traditionally regarded it as alien and a threat to freedom. Under the conditions of modern military technology it cannot even be justified on grounds of need. It serves only to maintain the power of military bureaucracy and to subject a portion of the populace each year to military conditioning. We demand its immediate abolition. We also condemn compulsory ROTC as military conditioning which has no place in our educational system.

## AGRICULTURE

In the post-war period mechanization has rapidly increased productivity per worker in agriculture as in other fields. Our government has so far utterly failed to cope with the problems this has created. It has failed to assume responsibility for helping displaced farmers and farm workers find productive employment; and has, indeed, adopted farm policies which have made their problems much more acute. Corporate farms with absentee

ownership have more and more tended to dominate American agriculture; these huge managerial units are the prime beneficiaries of the Federal subsidy program. The family farm, long regarded as an important institution of our democracy, is almost completely forgotten in our agricultural policy. Hundreds of thousands of people are forced to flee the land and start from scratch in the unfamiliar, frustrating environment of the big city.

The farm worker, and particularly the migratory laborer, is victimized by the most cruel exploitation. Unorganized, unprotected by the laws which cover industrial workers, the men and women who toil in the factories of the field live under the miserable conditions which predated the rise of the mass union movement and the emergence of the welfare state.

Our basic principle in confronting this situation is that occupancy and use should be the only rightful title to farmland. Where conditions favor family farming, the security of such farmers should be strengthened through cooperative credit purchasing and marketing, aided by government financing. Where modern techniques and specialization require large-scale farm ownership, we call for social ownership and cooperative operation to replace the corporation farm.

More immediately, we strongly oppose all those programs which seek to foster scarcity as a means to agricultural equity. Our nation contains millions of families who desperately need assistance to maintain a decent diet. Consequently, we seek the enlargement of the school lunch program and other public-welfare food programs. We also favor a domestic food-allotment program for low-income families.

Internationally, food "surpluses" can play an important role in the fight

against world poverty. Specifically, we favor the international administration of a U.N. food program to alleviate starvation, to promote economic development, and to encourage price stability.

We wholeheartedly support the labor movement in its effort to bring the benefits of trade unionism to America's farm workers. We believe that the American labor movement must give top priority to this effort, with more financial assistance than is now provided for. Jurisdictional disputes should in no way be allowed to block development of the organization of farm workers.

We favor extension to farm workers of all the safeguards now protecting industrial workers: minimum wage, safety and sanitary legislation, and so on.

We see an immediate need for Federal aid to farmers' cooperatives and a strengthening of the rural electrification program.

We demand a major attack on rural slums.

In short, the family farmer and the farm worker cannot be our forgotten citizens. A vigorous, immediate program to protect them, and to limit the power of the corporate farm, must be a basic goal of all those who favor social change in the United States today.

## URBAN PROBLEMS

### Planning for People

The old-party politicians have concocted plans without vision and projects without plans. Proposals for urban renewal are not arrived at through democratic participation of the people involved; they are not designed as part of a comprehensive and rational scheme to rebuild cities around the

human needs of the people who live in them.

Highways are given priority over communities; largesse is distributed to real-estate speculators in the name of slum-clearance. Neighborhoods and communities are destroyed; neighborliness is made more difficult; ordinary natural contact between people is frustrated. "Old" slums are spreading

as the nation falls well behind the rate of housing obsolescence; "new" slums are created by our haphazard and inadequate public housing. Too much public housing is built in the form of high-rise human rabbit-warrens, income ghettos. Our government has not created housing for human beings; it has not planned communities.

One conspicuous example of bad planning is the half-billion dollar Federal highway program, which puts a misplaced emphasis on private modes of vehicular transport at a time when our congested cities urgently require a revamping of the means of mass transportation. The new highways continue the process of disrupting communities in the interests of automobiles. Moreover, they must meet design requirements for the moving of military equipment through, as well as between, cities. The Socialist Party believes that cities are for people, not for cars—and most emphatically, not for atomic missiles.

We advocate reestablishment of the National Resources Planning Board for properly coordinating the use of resources and their distribution from area to area. We urge the creation by the Federal government of regional planning agencies in cooperation with state and local governments, to supervise overall planning for all Federal expenditures in public improvement. These agencies should help each region to help itself. They should play a major role in handling such problems as massive population displacement.

In the long run what is needed is democratic planning to make possible a tremendous decentralization of living, a nation of home-owners and communities. This clearly cannot be accomplished by private industry, nor even by the Federal government acting as it now does. It requires a human concept of the economy and of the problem of the city; a determina-

tion to build on the basis of need rather than of profit.

### The City

As immediate steps to meet the problems of our cities, we advocate—

- A Department of Urban Development, with a cabinet-rank Secretary in the Federal government;
- National sponsorship of satellite cities to reduce urban congestion and to provide a decent environment for the rearing of children and the enjoyment of life;
- Permanent and automatic reapportionment of all state legislatures subject to review by the courts, so as to end minority domination of state governments, and so that city governments will no longer find it necessary to bypass the state and look for aid solely to the Federal government;
- Federal matching funds for metropolitan planning, sewer control, waterworks expansion, and mass transportation;
- Public ownership and nonprofit operation of power and transportation utilities.

### Housing

The Socialist Party calls for planning a human housing environment in a vastly-expanded program of public housing. There should be as much decentralization and local autonomy as possible in the handling of Federal housing funds. Public housing must be planned as part of a community—with architecture related to the needs of people; with integration of races, income groups, and types of housing in genuine neighborhoods. Above all, public housing must avoid the tendency to create huge impersonal ghettos. We do not need modern poor-farms; we need new communities.

Here and now, we call for a housing program that incorporates—

- Arrangements for the relocation of persons displaced by renewal projects protecting not only their right to sanitary housing, but also their investment in their community. Relocation must be designed to prevent the disruption of societal ties as is now so brutally prevalent.
- Application of the principle that the rental value of land is a social creation and should be appropriated by taxation for social purposes. All housing projects should insure a continuous return to the local government of increases in values created by public investment.
- Sanctions against the creation of

## EDUCATION

A democratic society requires an educational system which gives to each child opportunity for maximum development of all his potentialities. We reject the demand, made popular by Russia's launching of the Sputniks, for gearing our educational system to the needs of a war machine, or for imitating the narrow objectives of education in the Soviet Union and other totalitarian states. We believe in education for the whole man, education geared to the aptitude of each student and designed to produce well-informed citizens capable of thinking for themselves and participating responsibly in

the rights and duties of citizenship. We favor Federal aid for school construction, for higher teacher salaries, and for guidance services. We favor a Federal college scholarship plan. We oppose giving Federal aid to communities which refuse to integrate their school system as required by the May 1954 decision of the Supreme Court. We favor the extension of unionism among teachers. We oppose loyalty oaths in schools and colleges, for either teachers or students, because their only effect is to create a climate of suspicion incongruous to education in a free society.

income or racial ghettos. Grants-in-aid should be withheld where discrimination of any kind exists.

- Approaches that will foster the idea of community, and encourage democratic participation of citizens in community decisions. Rochdale-type cooperatives should receive high priority.
- Aid for lower and middle income home-owners who are able to refurbish existing homes as part of the program of community renewal.
- Special programs for the housing of the aged, the economically-displaced, and the socially backward.

## RESOLUTIONS

*This platform was adopted at a national convention of the SP-SDF held May 28-30, 1960, in Washington, D.C. The same convention also adopted a number of resolutions; of which it directed that the following three be printed with the platform because they serve to expand on special topics of outstanding importance, which could not appropriately be treated within the editorial confines of the platform itself.*

### RESOLUTION ON FOREIGN AID

It is imperative that the United States, with nearly 50 per cent of the total world income and only 7 per cent of its population, do its utmost to aid the earliest possible development of the underdeveloped two-thirds of the world. For the peoples of the underdeveloped countries, economic aid is essential not only for their standard of living, but also for the future of their democracy.

So far United States aid has been insufficient, and has too often been unacceptable because of the political and military considerations which have largely inspired it. We therefore urge that the U.S. foreign aid program be given a general re-orientation—

- The United States should propose, and push in the United Nations for, a world-wide crusade against low productivity, poverty, and misery. As a first step, we should give full backing to the suggested Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development (SUNFED). We should also move to expand greatly the facilities of such U.N. subsidiaries as the International Finance Corporation and the International Development Association.
- Pending establishment of a world-

wide U.N. program, the United States should greatly increase its own program of aid to the underdeveloped nations. Special attention should be given to the pressing needs of the Republic of India.

- All United States aid should be extended in a spirit of cooperation, with the intention of bringing mutual advantages to the underdeveloped nations and to this country. Our present attitude must be abandoned; for now we offer aid in the spirit of the charity of a profit-hungry banker. The SP-SDF especially opposes those policies which force underdeveloped nations to turn their petroleum industries over to exploitation by U.S. firms, and which force recipient nations to accept stringent austerity programs as the price of getting even inadequate help from this country.

- Finally, the United States must take the lead in working out arrangements for stabilizing at equitable levels the prices of the raw material and foodstuff exports on which underdeveloped nations depend for their foreign-exchange income. Without such stabilization, even very large intergovernmental grant and loan programs may be completely negated by sudden declines in world prices.

### RESOLUTION ON LATIN AMERICA

At no time in the past thirty years has U.S. prestige in Latin America been at a lower ebb. Our government has only itself to blame for this situation. It results from the U.S. policy of supporting

dictatorial regimes, and from U.S. failure to give adequate support to the economic development efforts of the peoples of Latin America.

The bankruptcy and harm that this

policy has done to U.S.-Latin American relations is being dramatically demonstrated by the anti-U.S. attitude of the revolutionary government of Cuba, and the response this attitude has evoked elsewhere in Latin America. The Socialist Party salutes the Cuban people and expresses its full support of the revolutionary overthrow of the criminal Batista regime. We are in full sympathy with the objectives of the Cuban revolution, and are emphatically opposed to any attempt on the part of the U.S. government to intervene either directly or indirectly against the Castro regime.

We believe that the U.S. must show by deeds, and not words, that it does not support dictatorial regimes. It should make clear its disgust with the Trujillo dictatorship in the Dominican Republic and protest the frequent meddling of that regime in the internal affairs of the United States and other American republics. It should name as ambassadors to the Dominican Republic—and to Nicaragua, Paraguay, and Haiti—men who will clearly act as representatives of a democracy and not as apologists for the dictatorship to which they are accredited. The U.S. should also strongly support the new Inter American Commission on Human Rights established in 1959 by the Foreign Ministers Conference in Santiago, Chile.

The United States must abandon forthwith all programs of military aid to regimes that use the equipment thus acquired to oppress their own people. It should encourage and promote the idea advocated by the government of Chile for general disarmament by the Latin Amer-

ican nations, and for application of the funds so saved to education, health, and other social purposes. It should itself contribute technical and financial assistance to these and similar projects.

The slow pace of economic growth in Latin America is leading many to conclude that development is only possible if political democracy is sacrificed. The U.S. has ignored this tendency, and indeed has stimulated it by giving aid that is insufficient and bound by too-orthodox banking conditions. U.S. aid must be enormously expanded; our country must seek to assist materially toward raising the standard of living of the Latin American peoples by helping to lay the foundations for industrialization and future economic growth. To this end—

• The U.S. must cooperate in programs for stabilizing the prices of the principal exports on which the Latin American countries depend for their foreign-exchange income; and

• The U.S., through the Organization of American States, must propose to the other republics of this hemisphere a general cooperative program for economic development. In such a program, each of the Latin American countries should draw up a plan for overcoming all the principal bottlenecks hampering its development, and should estimate what portion of the cost of that plan can be met from its own resources, by cooperative endeavor with other Latin American countries, and from extrahemispheric resources. The United States should then be prepared to supply however much additional aid may be required.

## RESOLUTION ON MEXICAN FARM LABORERS

During the domestic farm labor shortage of World War II, the emergency program of importing Mexican workers reached a peak of 63,000 in 1944. Today there is no longer a domestic farm labor shortage—yet nearly 450,000 Mexican workers are being imported annually.

For hungry workers from the poor rural regions of northern Mexico, this program means the relative wealth of

of wages ranging from 50 cents an hour in Texas to nearly 90 cents in northern California. But it also means working under conditions which, in the words of Father Vizzard of the National Catholic Rural Life Association, are "an ill-disguised substitute for slavery." For some two million American farm workers, and the 500,000 among them who migrate with their families in search of work, the

Mexican program means continued poverty and oppression, since these workers are displaced by the Mexicans and are forced to work for 30 cents an hour in Texas and 40 cents an hour in Arkansas.

For the big factory farms and growers associations of California and the Southwest, the Mexicans provide an abundance of cheap labor. It was these growers who fostered the mass ingress of illegal workers or "wetbacks," an influx which reached an estimated one million a year at its height. It was these growers whose persistent pressure brought about enactment of Public Law 78 in 1951, which legalized and made "moral" an illegal and immoral system. It is these growers who dominate the employment and farm placement services and have made a dead letter of the law giving preference to domestic workers. It is these growers who have nurtured corruption throughout the

Mexican placement system, corruption evidenced last year by the limited removal of public officials in California. It is the selfishness and arrogance of these growers, and their great influence within the Eisenhower administration, which has made impossible any real solution to the general problem of migratory labor.

Therefore, in addition to our other proposals concerning migratory labor (see under "Agriculture," page 16), the SP-SDF urges—

- That Public Law 78 be allowed to terminate on its expiration date of June, 1961; and
- That Congress prepare for its termination by authorizing a program of economic and technical aid designed to provide a stable means of livelihood in those areas of Mexico from which the Mexican workforce of 450,000 is drawn.

## CONCLUSION

You have just read the 1960 platform of the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation. It contains a number of useful suggestions, many of which—if we may judge by experience—will be carefully studied by liberal and labor organizations, and in time will be adopted by the major parties and enacted into law in watered-down form. We are of course happy that this should be so; nevertheless, we must reiterate that our purpose is not merely the proposing of reforms, however valuable. Our purpose is no less than the building of a new society.

It is out of our vision of a new society that we have, throughout this century, drawn inspiration for the many reforms which we were the first to suggest. It is our vision of a new society that gives depth and purpose to our suggestions and proposals; it is our passionate concern, for a social order in which the dignity of man is the highest of all values, that gives meaning to what we do.

Membership in our Party is open to all who share our vision, to all who seek a society in which man may prevail over the forces that oppress and stifle him. We most warmly urge you to join with us in our high endeavor, that together we can make our lives count toward the building of a better world.

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